

CV: LIESBET HOOGHE

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EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Born in Oudenaarde, Belgium

Citizenship: European Union (Belgium) / United States

Email: hooghe@unc.edu; liesbet.Hooghe@eui.eu

Homepage: <https://hooghe.web.unc.edu>

Areas of specialization: European Union politics; multilevel governance; international organization; decentralization; identity; public opinion and party politics

Education

1984—1989 K.U.Leuven, Ph.D. in Political Science
1987, 1988, 2013 Certificate of the Essex Summer School in Data Analysis and Collection
1980—1984 K.U.Leuven, Bachelor in Political Science

Academic positions

2011— UNC- Chapel Hill, W.R. Kenan Distinguished Professor of Political Science
2007—2011 UNC- Chapel Hill, Zachary Taylor Smith Professor of Political Science
2005—2007 UNC-Chapel Hill, Professor of Political Science
2000—2005 University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Associate Professor of Political Science;
Adjunct Professor Global Studies (2000—)
1999—2000 University of Toronto, Associate Professor of Political Science
1994—1999 University of Toronto, Assistant Professor of Political Science
1991—1994 Nuffield College, Oxford University, Postdoctoral Research Officer

Other academic appointments

2021—2025 Parttime Research Professor at the RSCAS, EUI
2016—2020 Robert Schuman Fellow, EUI, Florence
2004—2016 VU University Amsterdam, Chair in Multilevel Governance
1992—1994 K.U.Leuven, Lecturer of European Politics
1990—1992 K.U.Brussels, Lecturer of Political Science

Honors & Awards

- 2024 Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Lausanne for work on multilevel governance. Award ceremony on 31 May 2024.
- 2024 Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Maastricht (jointly with Gary Marks) for their work on multilevel governance. Award ceremony on 25 January 2024.
- 2023 Martha Derthick Book Award for *Multi-level Governance and European Integration* from the Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section of APSA for the best book published at least ten years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations.
- 2022 Best Article published in *Regional and Federal Studies* (2021) for “Language difference and regional authority” – with Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Arjan H. Schakel, Sara Niedzwiecki, Gary Marks, and Sandra Chapman-Osterkatz
- 2022 Best Paper presented at the European Union Studies Association (2019) for “Grand Theories of European Integration in the 21st Century” – with Gary Marks
- 2017 Daniel Elazar Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award from the Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section of the APSA
- 2016 Stein Rokkan Memorial Lecture 2016, University of Bergen, Norway
- 2011— Elected Fellow of the Flemish Royal Academy of the Arts and Sciences (KVAW)

Professional Leadership

Professional organization

- 2013—2016 Executive Council of the Federalism and IGR Section of the APSA
- 2005—2009 European Union Studies Association, Chair (07-09); Vice-Chair (05-07)
- 2003—2005 European Political Studies section of the American Political Science Association, Chair-elect and Chair

- Editorship** Oxford University Press book series on “Transformations in Governance” (since 2012)

Institutional leadership

- Spring 2019 Acting Director of the Center for European Studies/ EU Center of Excellence, UNC Chapel Hill
- 2013–2016 Team leader “European Politics & Society” of ACCESS Europe (Amsterdam Center for Contemporary European Studies)
- Spring 2010 Interim Director of the Center for European Studies/ EU Center of Excellence, UNC Chapel Hill

Grants

- 2021-2026 Advanced ERC Grant #885026 “The Transnational Divide: Local Triggers, Social Networks, and Group Identities,” Principal Investigator [€2.498 million]
- 2015-2018 Horizon 2020 grant “EUENGAGE: Bridging the gap between public opinion and European leadership: Engaging a dialogue on the future path of Europe,” Principal Investigator of VUA part [€381,059]
- 2013-2015 “Causes and Consequences of Multilevel Governance,” Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst [€30,000] to finance workshops

2012-2013	European Commission grant [€40,000] to update the RAI index for OECD countries
2010-2015	Advanced ERC grant "Causes and Consequences of Multilevel Governance," Senior Researcher [€2.47 million]
2010-2014	Open competition NWO grant "Senior Commission Officials' Role Perceptions in a Changing Europe" [€200,000]
2010-2014	Title VI grant for West European studies for the Center of European Studies, UNC Chapel Hill
2008-2010	ESRC grant "The Commission examined: Challenge, Change, Performance," co-applicant
2008-2011	"Party positioning on European integration," UNC EU Center & Title VI funding' \$12,000
2008-2010	"The Structure of Government: Coding Authority in International Organizations," UNC EU Center & Title VI funding, \$6,000
2006-2008	"Third Chapel Hill Expert Survey on Party Positioning for 27 EU countries," UNC EU Center & Title VI funding, \$12,000.
2004-2009	Strategic Chair in Multilevel Governance at the VUA [€670,000] (with Gary Marks)
2003-2006	College of Arts and Sciences Special Research Support UNC-CH
2000-2002	Research Grant Faculty Partners Fund UNC-CH
2001	Distance Learning Course Development Grant, Center European Studies, UNC-CH
1999—2002	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council-Canada (SSHRC) Grant <i>Project: "Enlightened Benevolence Bygone. Senior Commission Officials' Roles in a Changing Europe"</i>
1996—1999	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council-Canada (SSHRC) Grant <i>Project: "Inside the Monolith. Political Orientations of Senior Officials in the European Commission"</i>
1994—1995	Connaught Research Grant, University of Toronto

Fellowships

Spring 2020	Reynolds Senior Faculty Research and Scholarly Leave, UNC (competitive)
2019-2020	Robert Schuman Fellowship, EUI, Florence, year
2014	Visiting Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford University, Trinity Term
2013—2014	Fellow at the Kolleg Forschergruppe 'The Transformative Power of Europe, Free University of Berlin (5 months)
2011—2012	Fellow at the Kolleg Forschergruppe 'The Transformative Power of Europe', Free University of Berlin (5 months)
2010—2011	Fellow at the Kolleg Forschergruppe 'The Transformative Power of Europe', Free University of Berlin (10 months)
2010	Visiting Professorship, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, July
2007—2008	Fellow, Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, September-May
2005	Visiting Professorship, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, July
2003	Visiting Professorship, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, June
2002—2003	A. von Humboldt Research Fellowship, Wissenschaftszentrum in Berlin
2002—2003	Jean Monnet Fellowship at European University Institute, Florence (declined)
2002	Visiting Professorship, Sciences Politiques, Paris, May-June

2000	Visiting Professorship, University of Konstanz, Germany, June-July
1996—1997	Jean Monnet Fellowship of the European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre (Florence)
1992	Nerinckx-Award for the Social Sciences, K.U.Leuven, for doctoral dissertation
1992	Visiting Lecturer for EC-Erasmus network on Public Administration, University of Granada (Spain), July
1992—1994	Jean Monnet Course Grant on European Integration, K.U.Leuven
1990	Research Fellow at Carleton University (Canada), June
1989—1990	Fulbright-Hays Research Fellow at Cornell University, September-May
1989—1991	Postdoctoral Research Fellow of the Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research
1987—1989	Pre-doctoral Fellowship of the Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research
1985—1987	Pre-doctoral Fellowship of the Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research

Google citations

Feb 8, 2024

Google citations	All	Since 2019
Citations	45617	15711
h-index	70	46
i10-index	133	83

PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH

I. WORK IN PROGRESS

2024. Field of Education and Voting in the United States, with Gary Marks, Jonne Kamphorst, and Julia-Schulte-Cloos.

2024. Second Civil War? Fairness and non-violence as moral restraints, with Julia-Schulte-Cloos and Gary Marks.

2024. Why men and women vote differently on the transnational divide, with Gary Marks and Jonne Kamphorst.

2023. The Trilemma of International Organization, with Yoram Haftel, Tobias Lenz, and Gary Marks.

2022. Field of education and the transnational cleavage, with Gary Marks and Jonne Kamphorst. R&R.

2022. “Division on the Christian Right in the US: Conservative pastors and the use of force,” with Gary Marks and Stephanie Shady. Submitted.

II. DATA PROJECTS

Chapel Hill expert survey on party positioning 1999-2020

CHES-Europe: Party positioning on European integration, ideology and policy issues for political parties across Europe for 1999, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2019. Wave 2024 in preparation. The survey team: Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, Seth Jolly, Jelle Koedam, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova. See: Jolly et al. (2022) in *Electoral Studies*.

Flash Chapel Hill Expert Survey on EU position and immigration in 14 EU member states for 2017, available on <https://www.chesdata.eu/>

Speed surveys on Covid (2022) and the war on Ukraine (2023), available on <https://www.chesdata.eu/>

CHES-LA: Chapel Hill expert survey on party positioning 2020

Party positioning on ideology, policy issues, transnationalism for political parties for 12 countries in Latin America for 2020. The survey team: Ryan Bakker, Nico de la Cerda, Jonathan Hartlyn, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo. Available on <https://www.chesdata.eu/>

Regional Authority Index (RAI) 1950—2018

Regional authority in 95 countries on an annual basis for ten dimensions estimating self-rule and shared rule. Updated and expanded (including India and China) to 2018. The survey team: Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Sandra Chapman-Osterkatz, Sara Niedzwiecki, Arjan H. Schakel, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield. Available on <https://garymarks.web.unc.edu/data/regional-authority-2/>

Measure of International Authority (MIA) 1950—2020

International authority of 76 international organizations estimating delegation and pooling on an annual basis (OUP, 2017). Original survey team: Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Tobias Lenz, Besir Ceka, Svet Derderyan, and Jeanine Bezuijen.

Updated and expanded to 2020. Team: Liesbet Hooghe, Tobias Lenz, Gary Marks, Yoram Haftel. Available <http://garymarks.web.unc.edu/data/international-authority/>

III. BOOKS

- 2019.** *A Theory of International Organization*, with Tobias Lenz and Gary Marks. Oxford: OUP, 196pp.
- 2017.** *Measuring International Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance*, with Gary Marks, Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, Besir Ceka, Svet Derderyan. Oxford: OUP, 888pp.
- 2016.** *Community, Scale, and Regional Governance: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance*, with Gary Marks. Oxford: OUP, 195pp. Voted “Book of the Summer” at *MLGwatch*.
- 2016.** *Measuring Regional Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance*. with Gary Marks, Arjan H. Schakel, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandra Chapman Osterkatz, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield. Oxford: OUP, 687pp.
- 2013.** *The European Commission of the 21st Century*, with Michael Bauer, Sara Connolly, Renaud Dehousse, Hussein Kassim, John Peterson, and Andrew Thompson. Oxford: OUP, 381pp.
- 2010.** *The Rise of Regional Authority: A Comparative Study of 42 Democracies (1950-2006)*, with Gary Marks and Arjan H. Schakel. London: Routledge, 224pp.
- 2002.** *The European Commission and The Integration of Europe: Images of Governance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, XI + 279pp.
- 2001.** *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, with Gary Marks. Lanham, M.D.: Rowman & Littlefield, XVI + 240pp.
- Martha Derthick APSA Award for the Best Book published at least ten years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism***
- 1996.** *Cohesion Policy and European Integration. Building Multilevel Governance*, editor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 458pp.
- 1991.** *A Leap in the Dark: Nationalist Conflict and Federal Reform in Belgium*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press—Western Societies Program, N.27, 129pp.

Other monographs

- 1991.** *Executive Federalism in Canada*. Brussel: Studiecentrum voor Federalisme, N.3, 74pp.
- 1989.** *Separatisme: Conflict Tussen Twee Projecten voor Natievorming* [Separatism: Conflict between Two Nation Building Projects]. Leuven: Afdeling Politologie, 451pp.

IV. SPECIAL JOURNAL ISSUES

- 2019.** Re-engaging grand theories of European integration, with Gary Marks. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(8): 1113-1252.

- 2019.** Symposium: Measuring and theorizing regional governance, Kent Eaton, JP Faguet, Imke Harbers, Arjan H. Schakel, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandra Chapman, Sarah Shair-Rosenfield. *Territory, Politics, and Governance*, 7(2): 265-283
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2018.1445021>.
- 2018.** Theory Meets Crisis, with Gary Marks and Brigid Laffan. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25 (1): 1-135. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310282>
- 2008.** Regional Authority in 42 Democracies, 1950–2006, with Gary Marks and Arjan Schakel. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18 (2-3): 111-302.
- 2007.** Understanding Euroscepticism, with Gary Marks. *Acta Politica*, 42 (2-3): 119-354. 5
- 2007.** Euroscepticism, Parties, and Public Opinion, *European Union Politics*, 8 (1): 5-150.

V. REFEREED ARTICLES

- 2024.** The Russian Threat and the Consolidation of the West: How Populism and EU-skepticism shape party support for Ukraine, with Gary Marks, Ryan Bakker, Seth Jolly, Jon Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova. *European Union Politics* (accepted, Jan 2024).
- 2023.** How crises shape circles of solidarity: Evidence from the COVID pandemic in Italy, with Jeremy Ferwerda, Gabriele Magni, and Gary Marks. *Comparative Political Studies* (first online, May 2023, accepted Nov 2022) <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140231169028> || [replication data](#) (Harvard dataverse)
- 2023.** Transformation of the political space: A citizens' perspective, with Ruth Dassonneville and Gary Marks. *European Journal of Political Research* <https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12590> (first online, April 2023); [online appendix and replication data](#)
- 2022.** [Discovering Cooperation: A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change in International Organizations](#), with Tobias Lenz, Besir Ceka, Gary Marks, and Alexander Burilkov. *Review of International Organizations* <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-022-09482-0> (online first, Dec 2022) || [Online appendix](#).
- 2023.** [Differentiation in the European Union and Beyond](#), with Gary Marks. *European Union Politics*, 24(1) || doi.org/10.1177/14651165221127885 (online first, Sept 2022)
- 2022.** [The social roots of the transnational cleavage: Education, occupation, and sex](#), with Gary Marks. *RSCAS Working Paper 2022/53* (July 2022) || [Online Appendix](#)
- 2022.** [Revisiting Party System Structuration in Latin America and Europe: Economic and Socio-Cultural Dimensions](#), with Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo, Nico de la Cerda, Jonathan Hartlyn, Ryan Bakker, and Gary Marks. *Party Politics* || [DOI: 10.1177/13540688221090604](https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221090604) (June 2022)
- 2022.** [The social bases of political parties: A new measure and survey](#), with Gary Marks, David Attewell, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen. *British Journal of Political Science* (online first, Feb 2022) || <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123421000740> || [Replication data](#).
- 2022.** [Contesting Covid: The Ideological Bases of Partisan Responses to the Covid-19 Pandemic](#), with Jan Rovny, Ryan Bakker, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Marco Steenbergen,

- Milada Anna Vachudova, *European Journal of Political Research*, 61(4): 1155-1164. || <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12510> (online first, Jan 2022)
- 2022.** [Chapel Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2019](#), with Seth Jolly, Ryan Bakker, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Anna Vachudova, *Electoral Studies*, 75 (online first, November 2021) || DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2021.102420>
- 2021.** [The Territorial Architecture of Government](#), with Michaël Tatham and Gary Marks, *Governance*, 34(3): 607-620 (online first April 2021) || DOI: [10.1111/gove.12603](https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12603)
- 2021.** [Language Difference and Regional Authority](#), with Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Arjan H. Schakel, Sara Niedzwiecki, Gary Marks, Sandra Chapman Osterkat. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 31(1): 73-97 (online first Oct 14, 2020) || <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2020.1831476>
- Award for Best Article published in 2021 in Regional and Federal Studies.**
- 2020.** [A Postfunctionalist Theory of Multilevel Governance](#), with Gary Marks. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 22(4): 820-826, for a “Breakthrough Symposium” on Multilevel Governance, [online first August 20, 2020] || <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148120935303>
- 2020.** [Is Liberal Intergovernmentalism Regressive? A Response to Moravcsik \(2018\)](#), with Gary Marks. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27(4): 501-508 || <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1582684> (online Feb 2019). + Supplementary appendix available at <https://hooghe.web.unc.edu>
- 2019.** [Grand Theories on European integration in the 21st Century](#), with Gary Marks. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:8, 1113-1133 (online Jan 2019).
- Award for Best Paper presented at the European Union Studies Association (2019)**
- 2019.** Contested World Order: The Delegitimation of International Governance, with Tobias Lenz and Gary Marks. *Review of International Organizations*, 14(4): 731-43.
- 2021.** The RAI Travels to Latin America: Measuring Regional Authority under Regime Change, with Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandra Chapman Osterkat, and Gary Marks. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 31(2): 235-260 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2018.1509831> (first online July 2018).
- 2019.** Virtues and pitfalls of subnational comparison, with Arjan H. Schakel, Gary Marks, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandra Chapman Osterkat, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield. In: Symposium: Measuring and theorizing Regional Governance. *Territory, Politics, and Governance*, 7(2): 278-283 <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2018.1445021> (first online March 2018).
- 2018.** Cleavage Theory and Europe’s Crises: Lipset, Rokkan and the Transnational Cleavage,” with Gary Marks, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25 (1): 109-135 <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310279> (first online, April 2017).

- 2018.** Introduction to a Special Issue ‘Theory Meets Crisis,’ with Gary Marks and Brigid Laffan, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(1): 1-6
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310282> (first online April 2017).
- 2017.** Explaining the Saliency of Anti-elitism and Reducing Political Corruption for Political Parties in Europe with the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey data, with Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Ryan Bakker, Jelle Koedam, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, *Research & Politics*, January-March 2017: 1–9.
- 2015.** Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2010, with Ryan Bakker, Erica Edwards, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, *Party Politics* Vol. 21 (1): 143-153.
Dataset: <http://www.chesdata.eu> and my homepage.
- 2014.** Patterns of International Authority: Task-Specific vs. General-Purpose Organizations, with Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, and Gary Marks. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 49/2014: S136-161.
- 2014.** Delegation and Pooling in International Organizations, with Gary Marks. *Review of International Organizations*, 10 (3): 305-28. **Dataset:** my home page.
- 2014.** “A Comparative Measure of Decentralization for Southeast Asia,” with Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, and Gary Marks. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 14 (1): 85-108.
- 2013.** “Beyond Federalism: Estimating and Explaining the Territorial Structure of Government,” with Gary Marks, *Publius*, 43 (2): 179-204
- 2012.** “To Dichotomize or Not Dichotomize: A Reply to Proksch and Lo,” with Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen, *European Union Politics*, 13 (2): 334-39.
- 2012.** “Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive their Institution’s Role in the EU,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50 (1): 87-111.
- 2010.** “Measurement Validity and Party positioning: Chapel Hill expert surveys of 2002 and 2006,” with Ryan Bakker, Anna Brigevidch, Catherine de Vries, Erica Edwards, Gary Marks, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, *European Journal of Political Research*, 42 (4): 684-703.
- 2009.** “Postcommunist Politics in a Magnetic Field: How Transition and EU Accession Structure Party Competition on European Integration, with Milada Vachudova,” *Comparative European Politics*, 7(2): 179-212.
- 2009.** “Efficiency and the Territorial Structure of Government,” with Gary Marks, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12 (May): 225-241.
- 2009.** “A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus,” with Gary Marks, *British Journal of Political Science*, 39, 1, 1-23. [Responses by Philippe Schmitter, Hanspeter Kriesche, Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse].
Reprinted in Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, *The European Union: Reading on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 4th Edition (Lynn Rienner: Boulder, Co.: 2014).
- 2008.** “Measuring Regional Authority,” with Gary Marks and Arjan Schakel, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18 (2-3): 111-120.

- 2008.** "Operationalizing Regional Authority: A Coding Scheme for 42 Countries, 1950–2006," with Gary Marks and Arjan Schakel, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18 (2-3): 121-140.
- 2008.** "Patterns of Regional Authority," with Gary Marks and Arjan Schakel, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18 (2-3): 165-180.
Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham: Elgar, 2015).
- 2008.** "European Union?" with Gary Marks, Anniversary issue of *West European Politics*, 31 (1–2), 107 – 129.
- 2007.** "The Sources of Euroscepticism: Introduction," with Gary Marks, *Acta Politica*, 42 (2): 119-127.
- 2007.** "Does Occupation Shape Attitudes on Europe: Benchmarking Operationalizations," with Gary Marks and JingJing Huo, *Acta Politica*, 42 (2): 329-51.
- 2007.** "What drives Euroskepticism? Party-public cueing, ideology and strategic opportunity," *European Union Politics*, 8 (1): 5-12.
- 2007.** "Cross-Validating Data on Party Positioning on European Integration," with Gary Marks, Marco Steenbergen and Ryan Bakker, *Electoral Studies*, 26 (1): 23-38.
- 2007.** "Do expert surveys produce consistent estimates of party stances on European integration? Comparing expert surveys in the difficult case of Central and Eastern Europe," with Gary Marks, Robert Rohrschneider, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Vachudova, Stephen Whitefield, *Electoral Studies* 26 (1): 50-61.
- 2006.** "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality," with Gary Marks, Moira Nelson and Erica Edwards, *Comparative Political Studies*, 39 (2): 155-75.
Reprinted as "Party Ideology and European Integration: An East-West Comparison," with Gary Marks, Moira Nelson, and Erica Edwards, in Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield, eds., *Public Opinion, Party Competition and European Union Integration in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* (Palgrave, New York: 2006).
- 2006.** "Europe's Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching After the Rejection of a European Constitution," with Gary Marks, *PS: Politics and Political Science*, 39 (2): 247-50.
- 2005.** "Calculation, Community, and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration," with Gary Marks, *European Union Politics* 6 (4): 419-443.
- 2005.** "Many Roads Lead To International Norms, But Few Via International Socialization. A Case Study of the European Commission," *International Organization*, 59 (4): 861-898.
Also published in Jeffrey Checkel ed. (2007). *International Institutions and Socialization in Europe*, (Cambridge: CUP), 63-98;
reprinted in B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre (eds) (2015). *Public Administration, Volume 4*, Sage: 41-75.
- 2004.** "Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?" with Gary Marks, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 37 (3): 415-420.
- 2003.** "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-Level Governance," with Gary Marks, *American Political Science Review*, 97 (2): 233-43.

Reprinted and updated in Hendrik Enderlein, Sonja Wälti, and Michael Zürn, eds., *Handbook on Multilevel Governance* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010).

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham, Elgar: 2015).

- 2003.** "Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration," *European Union Politics*, 4 (3): 281-305.
- 2002.** "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" with Gary Marks and Carole Wilson, *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (8): 965-989.
- 2000.** "Optimality and Authority: A Critique of Neo-Classical Theory," with Gary Marks, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38 (5): 795-816.
- 2000.** "Euro-Socialists or Euro-Marketeers? Contention about European Capitalism among Senior Commission Officials," *Journal of Politics*, 62 (2): 430-454.
- 2000.** "Consociationalists or Weberians? Senior Commission Officials and the Role of Nationality," *Governance*, 12 (4): 397-424.
- 1999.** "Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining Orientations of Senior Commission Officials towards European Integration," *Comparative Political Studies*, 32 (4): 435-463.
- 1999.** "Images of Europe: Orientations to European integration among Senior Commission Officials," *British Journal of Political Science*, 29 (2): 345-373.
- 1998.** "EU Cohesion Policy and Competing Models of European Capitalism," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 36 (4): 457-477.
- Translated in Spanish as 'La politica de cohesion de la Union Europea y los modelos enfrentados de capitalismo europeo,' In *Aspectos politicos y sociales de la integracion europea*, edited by Ivan Llamazares and Fernando Reinares, (Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch).
- 1996.** "European Integration since the 1980s. State-Centric versus Multi-Level Governance," with Gary Marks and Kermit Blank, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34 (3): 341-378.
- Translated in Spanish as 'Gobernanza Estatacéntrica y Gobernanza Multinivel,' in *Gobernanza Multinivel en la Unión Europea*, edited by Francesc Morata (València: Tirant lo Blach, 2004).
- Reprinted as 'European Integration since the 1980s. State-Centric versus Multi-Level Governance,' in *The New Political Economy of Globalisation*, Vol. II, edited by Richard Higgott and Anthony Payne, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), 150-187.
- Reprinted in *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998), pp. 273-294. [2nd edition, 2000; 3rd edition in 2003.]
- Reprinted as 'European Integration and the State: Multi-level vs. State Centric Governance,' in Klaus Armingeon, ed., *Der Nationalstaat am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts: Die Schweiz im Prozess der Globalisierung* (Bern/Stuttgart: Haupt, 1996), pp. 91-106.
- Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham, Elgar: 2015).
- 1996.** "Europe with the Regions? Regional Representation in the European Union," with Gary Marks, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 26 (1): 73-91.

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham: Elgar, 2015).

1995. "Subnational Mobilization in the European Union," *West European Politics*, 18 (3): 175-198.

Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham: Elgar, 2015).

1994. "The Politics of European Union Regional Policy," with Michael Keating, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1 (3): 367-393.

1993. "Belgium: From Regionalism to Federalism," *Regional Policy and Politics*, 3 (1): 44-68.

1993. 'Politics and Policy in the European Community in 1992: A Review.' *Res Publica* 35: 3-4, 388-430.

1992. 'De Europese Gemeenschap in 1991.' *Res Publica* 34: 3-4, 371-405.

1991. 'Het politiek gebeuren in de Europese Gemeenschap in 1990.' *Res Publica* 33: 3-4, 396-431.

1990. "Nationalist Conflict and Social Factors," *Plural Societies*, 20 (1): 36-55.

1990. "Moeilijkheden rond theorievorming in de sociale wetenschappen. De invloed van modernisatie op politieke democratie." [Challenges to Theory Building in Social Science. The Impact of Modernization on Democratization], *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Wetenschappen*, 35 (1): 1-36.

1990. "De staatshervorming van 1988-1989 in België: Pacificatie en federalisme," [The 1988-89 Constitutional Reform in Belgium: Consociationalism and Federalism] *Federalisme*, 1 (4): 27-69.

1989. 'Democratie en modernisatie: noodzaak of keuze ?' [Democracy and Modernization: Causal Link or Choice?] *Res Publica* 31: 4, 565-591.

1987. 'Nota over de herinrichting van de kiesindeling in Brabant' [Boundary Revisions in the Province of Brabant: Shifts in Parliamentary Seat Distributions] *Res Publica* 29: 2, 259-273.

1986. 'De kansen op conflict, mobilisatie en actie in een separatistisch proces,' [Conflict, Mobilization, and Action in a Separatist Process] *Res Publica*, 28: 1, 55-73.

VI. BOOK CHAPTERS

2023. "Chapter 12: Multilevel governance," with Gary Marks and Arjan H. Schakel. In: *Comparative Politics*, edited by Daniele Caramani. Oxford: OUP, 193-210 (revised from 2020 edition).

2021. "Multilevel Governance and the Coordination Dilemma," with Gary Marks. In *A Research Agenda for Multilevel Governance*, edited by Arthur Benz, Jorg Broschek, and Markus Lederer (eds) (2021), Edgar Elgar, 19-37.

- 2021.** “Beyond Lemke & Marks’ ‘The Crisis of Socialism’” The Rise of New Cleavage,” with Gary Marks. In *Transatlantic Relations in Times of Change – A Festschrift for Christiane Lemke*, edited by Jutta Joachim, Andrea Schneider, and Natalia Dalmer. Nomos Verlag, 40-59.
- 2021.** “Cleavage theory,” with Gary Marks, David Attewell, Jan Rovny. In: *Handbook on EU Crisis*, edited by Marianne Riddervold, Jarle Trondal and Akasemi Newsome. Palgrave, 173-198 (online first in December 2020).
- 2020.** “The changing political landscape in Europe,” with Gary Marks, David Attewell, Jan Rovny. *The EU Through Multiple Crises*, edited by Maurizio Cotta and Pierangelo Isernia. London: Routledge, 20-44.
- 2020.** “Chapter 11: Multilevel governance,” with Gary Marks and Arjan H. Schakel. In: *Comparative Politics*, edited by Daniele Caramani. Oxford: OUP, 193-210.
- 2017.** “The Commission’s Services,” co-authored with Christian Rauh. In: *The Institutions of the European Union*, edited by John Peterson and Dermot Hodson. Oxford: OUP, 187-212.
- 2016.** “Regional Dispute Settlement,” with Karen Alter. In: *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, edited by Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse. Oxford: OUP, 538-58.
- 2015.** “Bypassing the Nation State? Regions and the EU Policy Process,” with Michael Keating and Michaël Tatham, in *European Union: Power and Policy Making*, edited by Jeremy Richardson and Sonia Mazey (fourth edition), 445-67.
- 2015.** “Multilevel Governance and the State,” with Arjan H. Schakel and Gary Marks. In: *Oxford Handbook on the Transformation of the State*, edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, John Stephens. Oxford: OUP, 266-82.
- 2012.** ‘The Commission’s Services’, co-authored with Hussein Kassim, *The Institutions of the European Union*, edited by John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, OUP, 173-98.
- 2012.** “Politicization,” with Gary Marks. In: *Handbook on the European Union*, edited by Erik Jones, Stephen Weatherill, and Anand Menon. Oxford: OUP, 840-53.
- 2010.** “Types of Multilevel Governance,” with Gary Marks. In: *Handbook on Multilevel Governance*, edited by Hendrik Enderlein, Sonja Wälti, and Michael Zürn. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 17-31.
- 2008.** “Die Entstehung eines politischen Gemeinwesens: Der Kampf um die europäische Integration“ (translated from ‘Making of A Polity. The Struggle over European Integration) with a new postscript *Politisierung und nationale Identitäten Eine Nachbetrachtung von Liesbet Hooghe und Gary Marks*. In: *Die Politische Ökonomie der Europäischen Integration*, edited by Martin Höpner, Armin Schäfer. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 159-202.
- 2006.** ‘The European Commission Civil Services,’ with Neill Nugent, in *The Institutions of the European Union*, edited by John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 147-168.
- 2006.** “Party Ideology and European Integration: An East-West Comparison,” with Gary Marks, Moira Nelson, and Erica Edwards. In: *Public Opinion, Party Competition and European Union Integration in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, edited by Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield. Palgrave: New York.

- 2006.** “The Neofunctionalists Were (Almost) Right: Politicization and European Integration,” with Gary Marks. In: *The Diversity of Democracy: Corporatism, Social Order and Political Conflict*, edited by Colin Crouch and Wolfgang Streeck. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 205-222.
- 2005.** ‘By-Passing the Nation-State? Regions and the EU Policy Process,’ with Michael Keating, in *European Union: Power and Policy Making*, edited by Jeremy J. Richardson (London: Routledge)[revised from 2001 edition.]
- 2004.** “Contrasting Visions of Multi-Level Governance?” with Gary Marks. In: *Multi-Level Governance*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders. Oxford: OUP, 15-30.
- 2004.** “Belgium: Hollowing the Center.” In: *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*, edited by Ugo Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 55-92.
- 2004.** “Globalization and the European Union – Shared Governance on a Regional Scale.” In: *The Impact of Globalization on Federal Systems*, edited by Harvey Lazar and Hamish Telford. Montreal: McGill University/Queen’s University Press, 283-327.
- 2004.** “Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?” with Gary Marks and Carole Wilson. In: *European Integration and Political Conflict*, edited by Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. Cambridge: CUP, 120-140.
- 2003.** “Belgium: From Regionalism to Federalism,” [extensively revised from 1993] In: *The Territorial Management of Ethnic Conflict*, edited by John Coakley. London: Frank Cass, 73-99.
- 2002.** “Accommodating Multi-nationality in the European Commission: A Consociational or Weberian Administration?” in *The Challenge of Cultural Pluralism. Festschrift in Honor of Kenneth D. McRae*, edited by Stephen Brooks. Praeger Publishers, 55-76.
- 2002.** “The Mobilization of Subnational Authorities and Multilevel Governance,” in *L’action collective en Europe*, edited by Richard Balme, Didier Chabanet, and Vincent Wright. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 347-374.
- 2001.** ‘By-Passing the Nation-State? Regions and the EU Policy Process,’ with Michael Keating, in *European Union: Power and Policy Making*, edited by Jeremy J. Richardson (London: Routledge), 239-255[Revised from 1994 edition.]
- Reprinted in *Multi-Level Governance: Essential Readings I & II*, edited by Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders, (Cheltenham, Elgar: 2015).
- 2001.** “Top Commission Officials on Capitalism. An Institutional Understanding of Preferences,” in *The Rules of Integration: Institutional Approaches to the Study of Europe*, edited by Gerald Schneider and Mark Aspinwall. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 152-173.
- 1999.** “Making of A Polity. The Struggle over European Integration,” with Gary Marks, in *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, edited by Herbert Kitschelt, Gary Marks, Peter Lange and John Stephens. Cambridge: CUP, 70-97.
- Translated in German with a new postscript by the authors, in *Die Politische Ökonomie der Europäischen Integration*, edited by Martin Höpner, Armin Schäfer (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008).

Translated in Swedish as 'Hur motsättningar skapar gemenskap,' with Gary Marks [Making of a Polity, In *Europaperspektiv 1998. Årsbok för Europaforskning inom ekonomi, juridik och statskunskap*, edited by Ulf Bernitz, Sverker Gustavsson and Lars Oxelheim, (Stockholm: Nerenius & Santérus).

Translated in Spanish as 'Una politeya en formacion: pugnas sobre la integracion europea,' with Gary Marks. In *Aspectos politicos y sociales de la integracion europea*, edited by Ivan Llamazares and Fernando Reinares, (Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch).

- 1998.** 'La Belgique vue du Canada,' In *Où va la Belgique?*, edited by Marc Swyngedouw and Marco Martiniello (Paris: l'Harmattan), 237-247. Also published in Dutch: 'België bekeken vanuit Canada,' In *Belgische toestanden: de lotgevallen van een kleine bi-culturele democratie*, edited by Marc Swyngedouw and Marco Martiniello (Icarus/ Anthos, 1998), 186-193.
- 1997.** "A House with Differing Views: The European Commission and Cohesion Policy," in *At the Heart of the Union: Studies of the European Commission*, edited by Neill Nugent. London: MacMillan, 89-108. [Second edition in 2000.]
- 1997.** "Il Belgio: missione per eccellere in Europa. Federalizzazione e integrazione europea," [Belgium: A Mission for European Excellence. Federalization and European Integration.] in *Policy Making in Federal or Regional States*, edited by Bruno Dente and L.J. Sharpe. Turin: Agnelli Foundation, 265-337.
- 1997.** "Contending Models of Governance in the European Union," with Gary Marks, in *Europe's Ambiguous Unity: Conflict and Consensus in the Post-Maastricht Era*, edited by Alan Cafruny and Carl Lankowski. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 21-44.
- 1996.** "Introduction: Reconciling European-wide Policy with National Diversity," in *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multilevel Governance*, edited by Liesbet Hooghe. Oxford: OUP, 1-26.
- 1996.** "Building a Europe with the Regions: The Changing Role of the European Commission," in *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multilevel Governance*, edited by Liesbet Hooghe. Oxford: OUP, 89-128.
- 1996.** "Subnational Mobilization in the European Union," [reprinted from *West European Politics, 1995*.] in *The Crisis of Representation in Europe*, edited by Jack Hayward. London: Frank Cass, 175-198.
- 1996.** "Territorial Restructuring in the European Union: Regional Pressures," with Gary Marks, in *La Restructuration De L'Etat dans les Pays d'Europe Occidentale*, edited by Sabino Cassese and Vincent Wright. Paris: Editions La Découverte, Collection 'Recherches', 207-226.
[Also published in English by Pinter, 1996.]
- 1995.** "European Integration and the State," with Gary Marks and Kermit Blank, in *Der Nationalstaat am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts: Die Schweiz im Prozess der Globalisierung*, edited by Klaus Armingeon. Bern/Stuttgart: Haupt, 91-106.
- 1995.** "Belgian Federalism and the European Community," in *Regions in the European Community*, edited by Michael Keating and Barry Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 134-165.

- 1994.** “De relatie Brussel/ Brusselse rand-Vlaanderen: institutionele aspecten,” [Territorial Politics around Brussels: An Institutional Perspective.] in *De Problematiek van de Brusselse Rand*, edited by Els Witte. Brussels: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 384-410.
- 1994.** ‘The Dynamics of Constitutional Change in Belgium,’ in *Contemporary Political Studies 1994*, edited by Patrick Dunleavy and Jeffrey Stanyer, (London: British Political Science Association), 314-324.
- 1994.** ‘By-Passing the Nation-State? Regions and the EU Policy Process,’ with Michael Keating, in *European Union: Power and Policy Making*, edited by Jeremy J. Richardson (London: Routledge), 216-229.
- 1993.** “Van het Martelarenplein naar het Schumanplein. De invloed van Europese integratie op de intergouvernementele relaties in het Belgisch federaal model,” In *Scenario's voor de toekomst*, edited by Wilfried Dumon, Guido Fauconnier, Rudolf Maes, Esther Meulemans. Leuven: Acco, 35-58.
- 1993.** “Belgium: From Regionalism to Federalism,” in *The Territorial Management of Ethnic Conflict*, edited by John Coakley. London: Frank Cass, 44-68.
- 1992.** “Nationalist Movements and Social Factors: A Theoretical Perspective,” in *The Social Origins of Nationalist Movements*, edited by John Coakley. London: Sage Publications, 21-44.

VII. WORKING PAPERS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- 2022.** Moral underpinnings of political change: A survey of North Carolina Pastors, with Gary Marks and Stephanie Shady. UNC-Chapel Hill, August 2022, 12pp.
- 2022.** *The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage: Sex, Education, and Occupation*, with Gary Marks. Florence: European University Institute, RSC Working Paper 2022/57.
- 2020.** “Who opposes the EU? Continuity and change in party Euroscepticism between 2014 and 2019,” with Ryan Bakker, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Marco Steenbergen, and Milada Vachudova. *LSE blog*, June 1, 2020
(<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2020/06/01/who-opposes-the-eu-continuity-and-change-in-party-euroscepticism-between-2014-and-2019/>)
- 2019.** “What the rise of radical nationalism tells us about the debate between postfunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism,” with Gary Marks. *LSE blog*, Feb 26, 2019.
<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2019/02/26/what-the-rise-of-radical-nationalism-tells-us-about-the-debate-between-postfunctionalism-and-liberal-intergovernmentalism/>
- 2019.** “Europe’s new politics: Transnationalism vs. the Nation,” published October 1, on <https://www.friendsofeurope.org/insights/europes-new-politics-transnationalism-vs-the-nation/>
- 2018.** *Re-engaging Grand Theory: European integration in the 21st Century*, with Gary Marks. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) Working Paper Series, No. 2018/43.

- 2016.** *Regional Dispute Settlement*, with Karen Alter. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) Working Paper Series, No. 2016, Florence: EUI.
- 2014.** *Patterns of International Organization: Task Specific vs. General Purpose*,” with Tobias Lenz, Jeanine Bezuijen, and Gary Marks. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) Working Paper Series, No. 2014/128, Florence: European University Institute.
- 2012.** ‘The Commission of the 21st Century: Core Beliefs on EU Governance,’ *KFG Working Paper No. 38*, Freie Universität Berlin, 1-31.
- 2012.** ‘Beyond Federalism: Estimating and Explaining the Territorial Structure of Government,’ with Gary Marks, *KFG Working Paper No. 37*, Freie Universität Berlin, 1-38.
- 2010.** ‘Images of Europe: How Commission Officials View their Institution’s Role in the EU,’ *Arena Working Paper #8 (Sept. 2010)*.
- 2009.** ‘Rise of the Regions,’ with Gary Marks, *Cahiers of the Committee of the Regions: Inaugural Edition*.
- 2009.** ‘Letter from the Chair: A Time of Turmoil,’ *EUSA Review*, 21 (4), pp. 2-3.
- 2008.** ‘Postscript on the Making of a Polity,’ with Gary Marks, *EUSA Review*, 21 (2), pp. 5-8.
- 2007.** ‘Letter from the Chair: EUSA Conference: Can Big Be Beautiful?’ *EUSA Review Vol 20* (Summer), 1 and 24.
- 2005.** ‘Letter from the Chair: Methodological Pluralism among Europeanists’, *European Politics and Society APSA Newsletter*, Spring-Summer 2005, available from the web: <http://www.apsanet.org/~ep/newsletter.html>
- 2004.** ‘Letter from the Chair: US-EU relations After the US Elections’, *European Politics and Society APSA Newsletter*, Winter 2004, available from <http://www.apsanet.org/~ep/newsletter.html>
- 2004.** ‘European integration and democratic competition,’ with Gary Marks. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, available on the web: <http://www.fes.de/europolity/SummaryHoogheMarks.htm>, pp. 1-13.
- 2003.** ‘Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-Level Governance,’ with Gary Marks. Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, *The Political Science Series 87*, 27pp.
- 2003.** ‘National Identity and Support for European Integration,’ with Gary Marks *Wissenschaftszentrum Working Paper SP IV 2003-202*. Available on: <http://www.wz-berlin.de/zkd/dsl/papers.de.htm#2003>, 40pp.
- 2003.** ‘Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration.’ Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, *The Political Science Series 88*, 26pp.
- 2001.** ‘Types of Multi-Level Governance,’ with Gary Marks *European Integration online Papers* (EIoP) Vol. 5, N° 11; <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2001-011a.htm>

2001. ‘The Renaissance of European Integration Studies.’ *West European Politics and Society Newsletter, APSA Section*, Fall, 2-4.

2000. ‘Party Positions On European Integration: New Politics vs. Left/Right,’ with Gary Marks and Carole Wilson, *Universität Konstanz Working Paper*.

1998. ‘ECSA Review Forum. Integrating Left and Right: Studying EU Politics,’ *European Community Studies Association Newsletter*, (Fall), p. 4-5. (Forum with Kathleen McNamara, Simon Hix, Liesbet Hooghe, and Mark Pollack).

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Video lectures, podcasts etc.

Catch-the-Eye Politics – [The transnational cleavage: the societal shift that’s shaking up European politics](#) (script by Jimmy Dögerl, Sept 2023)

Podcast: The transnational Cleavage – Transformation in European Politics Podcast series hosted by Tarik Abou-Chadi, U of Zurich, available at <https://soundcloud.com/user-467531770> [episode 14 -- Oct 19, 2020].

Keys to European Politics –13 videos on European integration, multilevel governance, and the transnational cleavage, with Gary Marks (Aug-Oct 2020). Available on <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLctYgE-cUDs4soOidLV4psrCT65ZEi5I3>

Re-engaging Grand Theory: European Integration in the 21st Century | Liesbet Hooghe – a short video by the RSCAS, European University Institute (June 2018). Available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3N_WN-dTNQ

Conferences/ workshops organized or co-organized (2017—)

“Advances in Cleavage Research, EUI, June 3-4 2024, with Jonne Kamphorst & Gary Marks.

“PhD. Workshop: The comparative politics of Europe,” EUI, June 27-28 2022, with Gary Marks and Erik Jones.

“Lessons of Post-functionalism—reflections on the contribution of Gary Marks to comparative politics,” with Jan Rovny and Catherine De Vries, EUI, June 9-10, 2022.

“Theories of the Contemporary Divide in Western Societies,” EUI, Dec 15-17, 2021, with Gary Marks.

“The Effects of Multilevel Governance,” EUI, May 23-34, 2019, with Gary Marks.

“Partisan Divides in Europe and America,” with Grad students of Poli 830, UNC, May 3-4, 2019.

“Book workshop: Community, Scale, and the Design of International Organization,” Free University Berlin, Berlin, June 7, 2018.

“Re-Engaging Grand Theories,” European University Institute, May 31-June 1, 2018, with Brigid Laffan and Gary Marks.

“Updating the Regional Authority Index,” UNC Chapel Hill, November 17-18, 2017, with Gary Marks.

“CHES Workshop – to the 2017 survey,” European University Institute, May 20, 2017, with Gary Marks.

“Rejected Europe, Beloved Europe, Cleavage Europe?,” European University Institute, May 18-19, 2017, with Gary Marks and Brigid Laffan.

Conference papers and presentations (since 2017)

“Field of education and the transnational cleavage,” (with Jonne Kamphorst and Gary Marks) and “Division on the Christian right: Republican pastors and the use of force,” (with Gary Marks), presented at the European Political Science Association, Glasgow, June 22-24 2023.

“Field of education and the transnational cleavage,” (with Jonne Kamphorst and Gary Marks), and “Brigid Laffan: A tribute,” presented at the European Union Studies Association, Pittsburgh, May 4-6, 2023.

“The Trilemma of International Organization,” with Yoram Haftel, Tobias Lenz, and Gary Marks, presented at a conference on *New Research on International Organization Authority*, Leuphana University, Feb 9-10, 2023.

“Grande’s Strategic Politicization is (almost) right,” with Gary Marks, zoom presentation at a conference “Politics today – dare to think big,” WZB – Berlin, November 11, 2022.

“Field of education and the transnational cleavage,” with Gary Marks, *Conference on Cleavage Formation in the 21st Century*, U of Zurich, July 18-19, 2022.

“Division on the Christian Right in the US: Conservative pastors and the use of force,” with Gary Marks and Stephanie Shady, *Lessons of Post-Functionalism*, EUI, June 9-10, 2022.

“The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage” (with Gary Marks), “Helen Wallace: A tribute,” a roundtable on Nils Ringe’s Language Politics, and discussant, *European Union Studies Association*, Miami, May 19-21 2022.

“The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage: Sex, Education and Occupation,” with Gary Marks, zoom conference, *Theories of the Contemporary Divide in Western Societies*, EUI, Dec 15-17, 2021.

Book workshop on “Volatile Electorates: Multiple Identities and Crosspressured Voters,” by Ruth Dassonneville, zoom conference, May 28, 2021.

EGPP Annual Conference *Europe’s Changing Political System and Issue Space – What Lessons from the 2019 European Elections*, discussant (zoom) for Panel II Europe’s Issue Space, Feb 25-26, 2021, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute.

“Multilevel Governance and the Coordination Dilemma,” with Gary Marks, paper presented at a conference *A Research Agenda for Multilevel Governance*, Feb 18-19, 2021 (zoom).

Europow Seminar Series: Roundtable on the Future of European Integration, Roundtable presentation (zoom), Sept 16, 2020, <https://europow.com/>

“A Theory of International Organization,” keynote at a *Barcelona Workshop on Global Governance: Navigating Complexity*, Barcelona, Jan 23-24, 2020.

“A Theory of International Organization,” presentation at a workshop on *Decline and Death of International Organizations*, University of Maastricht, Brussels office, Jan 9-10, 2020.

“The European Union: An Economic Union or a Union of Values,” presentation at *Vices conference: The European Union Under Stress*, VU Amsterdam, October 31-Nov 11, 2019.

“A cleavage theory of partisanship,” and “Roundtable: Challenges of Studying Contemporary Cleavage Politics,” conference at the Berlin Social Science Center, July 4-5, 2019.

“Bordering Europe,” conference at the EUI, Florence, 30-31 May 2019, discussant.

“Institutional Complexity in Global Governance,” conference at the EUI, Florence, 29-30 May 2019, discussant.

“Multilevel Governance and Its Effects,” at a conference on the Effects of Multilevel Governance, May 23-24, 2019, EUI, Florence.

“Grand Theories of European Integration in the 21st Century,” and “The Structure of Political Conflict,” Presentation; discussant of four papers on “Heterodox theories of (dis)integration,” at the European Union Studies Association, Denver, May 9-11 2019.

“The Structure of Political Conflict,” with Gary Marks, Dave Attewell, Jan Rovny presented at a conference; discussant of a paper “Populism as a Reaction to Local Disruption: Evidence from European Municipalities” on conference on “Partisan Divides,” UNC-Chapel Hill, May 3-4 2019.

“The Resistible Rise of International Authority,” paper giver, at the conference on “Europe at the Crossroads,” University of Lisbon, Portugal, October 15 2018.

“Reflections on the Effects of World Regionalization,” presentation at a conference on “Regions in a Multipolar World,” Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, September 27-28, 2018.

“The Resistible Rise of International Authority,” paper giver; and discussant at a panel on “The policy consequences of multilevel governance,” APSA, Boston, Aug 30-Sept 2 2018.

“The Transnational Cleavage and its Social Bases,” paper giver, at the closing conference of the KollegForschungsgruppe “Transformative Power of Europe,” June 8-9, 2018.

“Re-engaging Grand Theory: European integration in the 21st Century,” paper giver (with Gary Marks), presented at a conference “Re-Engaging Grand Theory” at the European University Institute, May 31-June 1, 2018.

“Workshop on Radicalism and Realignment,” discussant, Duke University, April 20-21, 2018.

“Emerging Party Trends in Europe,” with Gary Marks, presented at the inaugural conference of the European Politics and Governance Programme (EGPP), also discussant role; Robert Schuman Centre, EUI, March 8-9, 2018.

“Dealignment meets Cleavage Theory,” paper with Gary Marks, Jan Rovny, David Attewell, APSA, San Francisco, Sept 1-2, 2017; also discussant of panel “IOs as Conditional Clubs and Norm Enforcers.”

“A Transnational Cleavage: The Structure of Politicization in Europe,” presented at a conference “Transformation or Collapse? Change in a Postfunctionalist Europe” organized by ACCESS, Amsterdam UvA-VUA, October 13-14, 2017.

“Book workshop: A Seat at the Table: authored by Chris Clark,” commentator, UNC Chapel Hill, July 31 2017.

“Dealignment meets Cleavage Theory,” paper with Gary Marks, Jan Rovny, David Attewell, presented at a conference “Rejected Europe, Beloved Europe, Cleavage Europe?,” EUI, Florence, May 17-18, 2017.

Talks, lectures, public events (since 2017)

“The European Union in a Changing World,” Worldview lecture for K-12 principals in North Carolina, Friday Center, Chapel Hill, April 13, 2023.

“Contextualizing partisan violence,” with Gary Marks (and Julia Schulte-Cloos), MAD workshop at UNC-Chapel Hill, Feb 17, 2023.

“The transnational cleavage in Europe,” with Gary Marks, Friday TAM series lecture, UNC-Chapel Hill, November 18, 2022.

“Field of education and the GALTAN divide,” with Gary Marks and Jonne Kamphorst, Comparative Politics Workshop, UNC-Chapel Hill, November 10, 2022.

“Field of education and the transnational cleavage,” zoom presentation at ARENA Tuesday Seminar, Oslo, October 25, 2022.

“Purple Churches in a Time of Political Polarization,” with Gary Marks. Webinar for the Baptist Cooperative Fellowship, October 12, 2022.

“The invasion of Ukraine and European integration,” with Gary Marks. EUI-EGPP series on Ukraine at War, June 1, 2022.

“Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, and the divide on the Christian Right: Conservative pastors and the use of force,” with Gary Marks and Stephanie Shady, EUI SPS Departmental Seminar, March 16, 2022.

“European Public Opinion and the Transnational Cleavage,” *A Roundtable on What Europe? Thirty years European Studies at the LSE*, London School of Economics, March 15, 2022.

“The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage” (with Gary Marks), talk at Departmental Seminar at *Pompeu Fabra*, Barcelona (zoom), March 7, 2022.

“Embattled Europe: A Progressive Alternative, By Konrad Jarausch,” book panel organized by the Washington Brookings Institute, January 24, 2022.

“The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage: Sex, Education, and Occupation,” with Gary Marks, EUI-EGPP Programme seminar, Nov 10, 2021.

“The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage: Sex, Education, and Occupation,” with Gary Marks, Jean Blondel Seminar at the U of Siena, 19 October 2021.

“The European Union – origins, workings, issues” organized by the UNC Center for European Studies for the Opening Event of EUnited 2021 Fellowship program, August 5, 2021.

Roundtable (zoom) on “The European Commission as a political engine of European Integration,” organized by *Groupe d'études géopolitiques*, Brussels, May 27, 2021 (with Martin Selmayr, Frederick Merand, Hussein Kassim, Didier Georgakakis).

Webinar “Brexitland: identity, diversity and the reshaping of British politics – by Maria Sobolewska and Robert Ford,” – discussant, Webinar by the Migration Centre, RSCAS, European University Institute, December 2, 2020.

“The Social Bases of Political Parties,” invited talk at the University of Montreal, October 16, 2020.

“Podcast: The transnational Cleavage” – Transformation in European Politics Podcast series hosted by Tarik Abou-Chadi, U of Zurich, available at <https://soundcloud.com/user-467531770> [episode 14 -- Oct 19, 2020].

“Roundtable: Is the EU strong enough for today’s world? | Perspectives from the Atlanta EU Consuls General,” discussant, Center for European Studies – UNC, October 13, 2020.

- "Failing forward in Eastern Enlargement – Veronica Anghel & Erik Jones," discussant, EUI European Union Studies Group, September 30, 2020.
- "Roundtable: The Future of European Integration," with Tanja Borzel, and Christina Schneider, *European Politics Online Workshop Series*, September 16, 2020.
- "Coronavirus: A view from Italy," Webinar for the Center for European Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill, April 17, 2020.
- "Book Presentation: A Theory of International Organization," Globe Webinar Series: The Future of Global Governance, KU Leuven, Belgium, March 16, 2020.
- "Book Presentation: A Theory of International Organization," RSCAS Seminar, European University Institute, January 29, 2020.
- "A cleavage theory of partisanship," University College London & London School of Economics, London, December 2, 2019.
- "The basic set-up of international organization: a trade-off between scale and community," St Gallen, Switzerland, October 8, 2019.
- "A cleavage theory of partisanship," Sciences Po, Paris, September 10, 2019;
- "A cleavage theory of partisanship," ETH-Zurich & University of Zurich, October 3, 2019
- "A cleavage theory of partisanship," St Gallen, Switzerland, October 8, 2019.
- "The 2019 European Elections and the Structure of Political Conflict in Europe," EUI, May 29, 2019.
- "Brexit: What, Where, and How?" Center for European Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill, April 8, 2019.
- "Brexit and Political Polarization," Global Leadership Council meeting at UNC, October 5, 2018
- "Community, Scale, and Regional Governance: Explaining Differentiation," Keynote Lecture for the PPRIDE program, Tübingen University, July 25, 2018.
- "Europe's Crises and the Emergence of a Transnational Cleavage," presentation at the IR Faculty Colloquium, Princeton University, February 5, 2018.
- "Community, Scale, and Jurisdictional Design within States," Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, San Francisco, November 9, 2017.
- "Publish or Perish?" Global Metropolitan Studies Program and European Studies, University of California, Berkeley, San Francisco, November 8, 2017.
- "Roundtable on Transatlantic Research and Academic Collaboration – with the DAAD representative Nina Hagemann," Center for European Studies, UNC Chapel Hill, October 29, 2017.
- "International Organizations in Crisis? Rising Authority and Perceptions of Decline," at the GIGA office, Berlin, October 19, 2017.
- "Roundtable on Brexit: What Future for Britain and Europe?," Center for European Studies, UNC Chapel Hill, September 19, 2017.
- "Community, Scale, and Jurisdictional Design within States," with Gary Marks, American University, September 15, 2017.
- "Keynote address: A New Transnational Cleavage? Europe's multilevel polity at a crossroads," at the Jean Monnet Programme's 25th Anniversary Conference, EUI, Florence, June 22, 2017.
- "Keynote address: A New Transnational Cleavage?" at the NCCR Final conference, ETH Zurich, June 14, 2017.
- "Cleavage Theory and Europe's Crises: Lipset, Rokkan and the Transnational Cleavage," talk at the Minda

de Ginzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, April 21, 2017.

“The Future of the European Union,” two presentations at a Workshop on “Averting Civilizational Collapse? Challenges to Governing Contemporary Human Society,” Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago de Chile, April 3 & 4, 2017.

“Scale, Community, and Regional Governance,” seminar at the Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago de Chile, April 4, 2017.

“The Fate of the EU,” on occasion of Euoweek, Center for European Studies at UNC Chapel Hill, March 27, 2017.

Service outside UNC

Leadership in Professional Associations

Member of Executive Council, Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Organized Section of APSA (2013--2016)

Chair, European Union Studies Association (2007–2009)

Vice-Chair, European Union Studies Association—USA (2005—2007)

Chair-elect, Chair, and Emeritus-Chair, European Political Studies section of the American Political Science Association (2003-2006)

Member, Program Committee for the bi-annual conference of the European Union Studies Association, 2005.

Professional service

Ongoing:

2022— Member, International Advisory Board of the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB)

2012 — Series editor, *Transformations in Governance*, Oxford University Press.

One-time:

2023 - Member, committee for the Daniel Elazar Lifetime Award, APSA-Federalism section

2021 - Member, committee for the APSA/ Publius Award for the best paper in the journal *Publius*

2020 - Member, committee for the Vincent Wright award for best paper published in *West European Politics* in 2019-2020

2019 - Member, Ernst Haas Chair selection committee at the European University Institute

2019 - Member, ERC evaluation Science After Projects (SAP) evaluation - Panel SH2, 2019.

2019 - Member, Best dissertation, European Politics and Society Section of the APSA

2017 - Chair, Presidential Nomination Committee for the Comparative Politics Section of the APSA

2017- Member, 2016 Committee awarding the prize for the best (single authored) journal article written by a young member of the Swiss Political Science Association (below the age of 35 years).

2016 - Chair, 2016 APSA William Anderson Award for the Best Dissertation on Federalism, intergovernmental relations, or state and local politics

2015 - Member, Committee for the 2015 Best Paper published in *Publius* for the Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Organized Section of APSA

2014 - Chair, 2014 Deil Wright Best Paper Award Committee for the Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Organized Section of APSA

2013 - Chair, 2013 APSA Gabriel A. Almond Dissertation Award Committee

2012 - Member of the Jury shortlisting best articles published in the *Journal of Common Market Studies* since its inception in 1962 on occasion of its 50th anniversary

- 2013 - Member, Johannes Van der Zouwen Prijs, best Masters thesis at FSW-VU University Amsterdam, 2011-12, 2012-13.
- 2009 - Chair, Ernst B. Haas summer dissertation fellowship selection committee
- 2008 - Chair, Ernst B. Haas summer dissertation fellowship selection committee
- 2008 - Member, NKWP Dissertation Prize committee for the Best Dissertation in Political Science in the Netherlands
- 2007 - Chair, evaluation team for Public Administration, Leiden University, July 10
- 2004, 2006, 2008 - Evaluator of integrated programs under European Commission's Framework VI Programme, March 2004, December 2006, January 2008.
- 2007 - Chair of the EUSA Dissertation prize committee for the best dissertation on European Union politics
- 2006 - Member of the External Selection Board for selecting the holder of Stein Rokkan Chair at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy
- 2006 – Member, G. Luebbert Book Award Committee for the Best Book in Comparative Politics published in 2004 or 2005, APSA-Comparative Politics
- 2005 – Member, Ernst B. Haas summer dissertation fellowship selection committee, EUSA
- 2004 - Chair of the Levine Prize committee for the best book in public administration published in 2003 (for the journal of *Governance*)
- 2002 - Member of Vincent Wright Memorial Prizes committee for the best two papers published in 2001 in West European Politics
- 2001 - Chair, Ph.D. dissertation award committee, European Community Studies Association—US

Journal refereeing

Acta Politica, American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, British Journal of Politics and International Relations, Canadian Political Science Review, Comparative European Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Electoral Studies, European Journal of International Relations, European Journal of Political Research, European Integration OnLine Papers, Ethnic and Racial Studies, European Political Science Review, European Union Politics, Federalisme, Global Environmental Politics, Governance, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of European Public Policy, Journal of Politics, Journal of Public Policy, Journal of European Integration, Party Politics, Perspectives on Politics, Political Analysis, Political Behavior, Political Studies, Public Administration, Public Opinion Quarterly, Publius, Regional Studies, Regional and Federal Studies, Research & Politics, Res Publica; Review of International Organizations; Territory, Politics, and Governance; West European Politics; World Politics.

Book manuscript refereeing

Cambridge University Press, ECPR press, Edgar Elgar, Lynne Rienner Publishers, MacMillan Press, Oxford University Press, Princeton University Press, Routledge/Palgrave, Rowman & Littlefield, Sage Publications

Research grant refereeing

Austrian Scientific Research
BA/Leverhulme Foundation
Canadian SSHR Council
Chile fondecyt

DFG-Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
Dutch Scientific Research (NWO)—The Netherlands
Estonian National Science Foundation
ERC-European Research Council, EU Commission
ESRC – United Kingdom
European Research Council, European Commission
Flemish Fund for Scientific Research—Belgium
French National Fund for Research
Hongkong Research Grants Council
Humboldt Research Scholarship for the Foundation for Polish Science
Israel National Science Foundation
ORA – Open Research Area
Swiss National Science Foundation
Thyssen Foundation
University of Leuven, Belgium
University of Antwerp, Belgium
University of Ghent, Belgium
National Science Foundation, US

Editorial Board

Acta Politica (since 2004), Comparative Political Studies (2005-2014), European Journal of Political Research (2003-2012), European Union Politics (since 1999), Governance (2000-2016), Journal of Public Policy (2002-2008), Journal of European Public Policy (since 2016), Journal of Politics (2008-2010), Living Reviews in Democracy (since 2008), PS-Political Science and Politics (2011-2016), Publius (since 2008), Regional Studies (2002--2008), Regional and Federal Studies (since 1995), Res Publica (1991-1998), Research & Politics (2013--), Social Science Research (2021—), Territory, Politics, and Governance (2012--), West European Politics (since 2000)

Tenure/ Promotion/Hiring Reviews/Honors (outside home universities)

(2003): Promotion to Associate Professor at University of Oklahoma
(2004): promotion to full professor at University of Twente, the Netherlands
(2006): promotion to full professor at Brigham Young University; selection committee of the Stein Rokkan Chair in Comparative Politics at European University Institute
(2009): promotion to associate professor at University of Knoxville-Tennessee;
(2011): promotion to full professor at the International Graduate School in Geneva; promotion to Associate Professor at New York University-Buffalo;
(2014): promotion to full professor at the University of Texas at Austin; promotion to full professor at Johns Hopkins; promotion to associate professor at Dickinson College;
(2015): promotion to full professor at the University of Pittsburgh; tenure-track hiring at KU Leuven; promotion at WZB; promotion to full professor at Washington Lee University; promotion to full professor at Rutgers University
(2016): senior promotion at Hertie School Berlin; promotion to endowed Chair at Notre Dame University
(2017): promotion to chaired professor at Utrecht University, promotion to tenure at Göttingen university; promotion to full professor at the International Graduate School in Geneva, promotion to tenure at the University of Texas at Austin

(2018): promotion to full professor at KU Leuven; promotion to associate professor with tenure at Duke University; promotion to associate professor at American University; promotion to full professor at University of Pennsylvania

(2019): promotion to full professor at Hebrew University; Leibniz Preis Nomination committee (letter); Ernst Haas chaired professorship at EUI (multiple meetings)

(2020): promotion to associate professor with tenure, Northeastern University; promotion for tenure, Konstanz University; Royal Society of Canada

(2021): promotion to chaired professorship at UvA (multiple committee meetings); Royal Society of Canada (letter); College of New Scholars, Artists, and Scientists, Canada (letter) (2021);

(2022): promotion to tenure, Carlos III University, Madrid; promotion to 'above scale' status, University of California-Santa Cruz; promotion to tenure, Trinity College Dublin;

(2023): promotion to full professor, U of Colorado at Boulder; promotion to tenure, Trinity College Dublin; Royal Society of Canada (letter); Odysseus program in Flanders (letter)

Professional affiliations

- American Political Science Association (since 1994)
- Council of European Studies (since 1992)
- ECPR Standing Group on Regionalism (since 1992); since 2023: Political Parties, European Union, Public Opinion, Affective Polarization
- European Political Science Association (since 2022)
- European Community Studies Association/European Union Studies Association - USA (since 1992)
- European Community Studies Association – Canada (1995-1999)
- NIG/NOB (Dutch Political Science Association) (2004—2016)
- Regional Studies Association (since 2017)
- Vlaams Politologisch Instituut (1990-1998)

PHD STUDENTS

PhD. students (principal or co-principal advisor):

Name (graduation)	Current position
Luis Russo [EUI]	In progress
Philip Warnke [UNC] (2024)	Postdoctoral Fellow, Freie Universitat Berlin
Kyle Chan [UNC] (2023)	Data analyst, Dickson Sports
Caroline Lancaster [UNC] (2022)	NORC Research Associate
Gabriele Magni [UNC] (2018)	Assistant Professor Loyola Marymount University
Bart Bes [VU Amsterdam] (2017)	Omstillingkonsulent, Grassdesign, Aarhus
Trineke Palm [VU Amsterdam] (2017)	Directeur Wetenschappelijk Instituut van de ChristenUnie
Jeanine Bezuijen [VU Amsterdam] (2015)	Statistician, Government of Scotland
Benjamin Neudorfer [VU Amsterdam] (2014)	Research officer, University of Oxford
Florian Stoeckel [UNC] (2014)	Assistant Professor, University of Exeter
Anna Brigeovich [UNC] (2012)	Associate Professor, University of Trondheim, Norway (2020-)
Lisa Fox [UNC] (2010)	Civil servant, State Assembly of North Carolina
Arjan H. Schakel [VU Amsterdam] (2009)	Associate Professor, U of Bergen (2019-)
Catherine De Vries [VU Amsterdam] (2007)	Chaired Professor, U of Bocconi, Italy (2019-)